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School of Diplomacy and International Relations

Fall 2017

Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States

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Balmaceda, Margarita M., "Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States" (2017). *Diplomacy Syllabi*. 220.
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DIPL 6405 NA
Foreign Policies of Post-Soviet States
School of Diplomacy and International Relations
Seton Hall University
Fall 2017

*****This syllabus may be modified by the instructor to respond to current events; small changes are also possible after the first class meeting to better respond to student language skills *****

Prof. Margarita M. Balmaceda
McQuaid Hall
(973) 313-6202
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Class: Alfieri 123
Wed 7:35-9:45 p.m.
Office hrs: Tue 7:30-8:00pm
W 11:00-12:00, 5:30-6:30 and by appointment

Course Description

Discussions of possible Russian meddling in the US elections, as well as Russia's intervention in Crimea and Eastern Ukraine it present key challenges to the international community. It is impossible to approach these challenges without a broader view at the sources of foreign policy in the former Soviet area. This course will survey the main issues in the history of Soviet relations with the foreign world, as well as the new foreign policies of Russia, the other Soviet successor states, and (to a lesser extent) the East and Central European states (in particular Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Romania, and Slovakia). The first part of the course explores topics such as longstanding sources of Russian and Soviet policies pre-dating 1917, the tensions between the pursuit of revolution abroad and state-building at home as sources of Soviet foreign policy, the links between domestic reform and foreign policy initiatives in the *perestroika* period, and the effects of the demise of the Soviet empire on the international system. The second part of the course analyzes the international behavior of Russia and the other former Soviet and former Soviet-bloc states after 1991. As examples we will discuss the role of interest groups in foreign policy-making in the post-Soviet period, alternative forms of political and economic integration within the Commonwealth of Independent States, the challenges of integration into Western politico-economic (EU) and security (NATO) structures faced by the Central and East European states, and new forms of Russian intervention starting in 2014.

Important Notes:

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See University and School standards for academic conduct here:

[<http://www13.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/upload/Seton-Hall-University-Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf>](http://www13.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/upload/Seton-Hall-University-Student-Code-of-Conduct.pdf)

<<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>>

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Policy on Incompletes:

Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies. Students wishing to request a grade of Incomplete must provide documentation to support the request accompanied by a Course Adjustment Form (available from the Diplomacy Main Office) to the professor *before* the date of the final examination. If the incomplete request is approved, the professor reserves the right to specify the new submission date for all missing coursework. Students who fail to submit the missing course work within this time period will receive a failing grade for all missing coursework and a final grade based on all coursework assigned. Any Incomplete not resolved within one calendar year of receiving the Incomplete or by the time of graduation (whichever comes first) automatically becomes an "FI" (which is equivalent to an F). It is the responsibility of the student to make sure they have completed all course requirements within the timeframe allotted. Please be aware that Incompletes on your transcript will impact financial aid and academic standing.

Papers should utilize one of the *Chicago Manual of Style* citation formats: Notes and Bibliography.

Books and course materials

The following books are available for purchase at the SHU bookstore **or online:**

Joseph L. Noguee, Robert H. Donaldson and Vidya Nadkarni, The Foreign Policy of Russia (ME Sharpe, 2014) FIFTH EDITION ISBN 978-0765642011 (Paperback) ISBN-10 0765642018

[NB: you must use the fifth edition of this book. Previous editions are significantly different and do not fulfill syllabus requirements].

Charles Gati, The Bloc That Failed (Indiana University Press, 1990) ISBN 0253205611
Paperback ISBN 0253205611

In addition, the other books mentioned in the syllabus will be available on the Reserve Room of the SHU library (it is best to check under the instructor's name – some books may be listed under DIPL 4185 NA/6405 NA, as well as DIPL 4193, DIPL 6001, DIPL 6016 and DIPL

6416). Selected books may also be borrowed from the instructor. **Unless otherwise noted, all journal articles listed in the syllabus are available through the SHU e-journal portal. Please download, print, and bring these materials to class in printed form.**

All students are encouraged to follow current news from Russia, the former USSR and Central- East Europe daily through The New York Times, Financial Times, and other news sources.

Optional:

Russia-related segments in “The Rachel Maddow Show,” MSCNBC.

Class requirements

1. Class attendance and participation
2. Completing all required readings before the session for which they have been assigned, and being ready to discuss them in class

3. A map and geography quiz (September 6, 2017) covering all geographic areas named in the syllabus, all states bordering the FSU and Russian Federation, capitals of all post-Soviet states, as well as main geographical features (such as rivers, oceans, mountain ranges, etc).

4. Two news presentations. The news presentation should be brief (c. 8 minutes), and should include at least two *current* news item from each a) Russia in general b) ethno-territorial units within the Russian Federation, c) other former Soviet republics; d) former European Warsaw Pact/COMECON states (“Central-East Europe”), in that order. Current sources such as *Financial Times*, *The Economist*, and the *New York Times* can be used, but should be supplemented by more specific resources such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Johnson’s List on Russia, and other agencies from Western and Eastern Europe and beyond. You should be ready to discuss the link between these specific news and the larger these discussed in the class. Please use a pedagogically-oriented power-point presentation. Sign-up for news presentations will be on August 30, 2017. The items presented should be chosen based on their importance and relevance (i.e., the *most important and relevant* current news items should take precedence over *less important and less relevant* ones]

5. Two **15-minute** (including 5 minutes for discussion) presentations on a particular *optional* reading or a substitute reading chosen with the approval of the instructor. “Readings for student presentations” are listed for each class. Please note: When no reading is given but a “TBA” is written, you should propose a presentation reading (related to the topic of that class) to be approved by the instructor at least three weeks in advance of the presentation date – please start your search early.) Your presentation can be based on an article (or two related articles) or several chapters of a book. **Please check the actual availability of your materials in the SHU library/e-library at least three weeks the syllabus date of your presentation, as you may need to order them through Inter-Library Loan.** Sign-up for presentations will be on August 30, 2017. *Graduate students are required be available to do a presentation on the second week of classes.*

The presentations should concentrate on the particular reading chosen, yet should also draw and make connections with the rest of the materials assigned for that class day, and with appropriate factual materials (drawn from case studies or newspapers). No later than 5:00 pm on

the day before the presentation date (as per the syllabus), you should hand the instructor the following (in a single file).

- a) a two-page (max. 700 words) typed summary of your presentation arguments in essay form (i.e. using complete sentences.) You may also distribute outlines in the class (optional). Please include:
 1. your name and full class information (top of first page)
 2. full citation of presentation material (top of first page)
 3. a summary of the reading
 4. a summary of the author's arguments
 5. how it relates to other class readings? Does it support, or contradict them?
 6. your own personal assessment
- b) A list of five or more questions for class discussion based on that reading

The day of the presentation, you should bring to class copies of an outline and/or other visual aid for distribution to all students.

Please note: students should have a two-week flexibility concerning their presentations. Because of possible scheduling issues it is possible that the date of your *oral* presentation may be delayed for a week or (maximum) two. The deadlines for the written presentations remain unchanged – i.e. even if we fall behind the schedule, please submit your written presentation by the original date (i.e. the day before the original date of the presentation). It is the student's responsibility to remember the date of the presentation. **Late assignments will be subjected to a 20-point (20 %) penalty (1st day), plus 10% for each subsequent day.**

5. An in-class, mid-term examination (Wednesday, October 18).

6. A take-home examination (due Wednesday, December 13). You will have two weeks to complete this examination.

Grading

Class Attendance and Participation	20%
Map and Geography Quiz	10%
Class Presentation # 1	10%
Class Presentation # 2	10%
Short News Presentation #1	5%
Short News Presentation #2	5%
Mid-term exam	20%
Take-Home Exam	20%

Submission of assignments:

Unless otherwise noted, assignments are due on or before 7:30 pm. of the deadline date in the instructor's mailbox and as e-mail attachment.

Please note that all assignments must be also submitted as hard copy. Please make sure each assignment includes full class, assignment, date and name information in the first page, as well as a “header” on each page with your name and short assignment name, as well as page numbers. Please use 1” margins and 12 point fonts, with 10 pts. for footnotes.

Files submitted by e-mail should be labeled clearly, using the following format:

YourName_DIPL6405_SHORTASSIGNMENTNAME_day.mo.year.doc

So, for example: JohnEdwards_DIPL6405_GAZPROMPRESENTATION_18.03.2015.doc

Files not labeled correctly may be subject to a 2% grade decrease.

Late assignments policy:

It is essential that assignments are submitted on time; I am unable to grant extensions. If you cannot come to campus to bring the hard copy, please mail it with sufficient time to reach me by the deadline.¹ Due to the large number of students, we are unable to accept submissions by fax. **Late assignments will be subjected to a 20-point (20 %) penalty (1st day), plus 10% for each subsequent day.** (For example, an assignment that merits a 95 (“A”) grade will get 75 points if submitted a day late.) Late penalties are prorated for electronic/hard copy submissions: if an assignment is not turned in in hard copy form but only in electronic form, the penalty will be 10% per first day late (5% for each subsequent day); if it is not turned in in electronic copy form but only in hard form, the penalty will be 10% per first day late (plus 5% for each subsequent day). Assignments submitted >45 minutes after the due time are counted a day late. The deadline ensures the instructor enough time to read and comment on assignments.

Use of laptops, phones, and digital devices in class

While the use of computer resources is an important part of your experience at SHU, for our 130 minutes of classroom interaction, we will follow the following principles:

Closed laptops, open minds

130 minutes of electronic device-free dialogue Let’s give each other a chance to interact, not via Facebook, but through the real face-book: talking face-to-face and reading each others’ faces like a book – communicating with words, images, expressions, and subtle gestures. This is a crucial skill in diplomacy and negotiation!

No distractions, focused interaction Before class can start, kindly fully *turn off* and *put away* your phone and other digital devices.

Better understanding through retyping and re-organizing class notes For best results, take notes by hand during the class meeting (printed outline provided). After class, go over your class notes as well as your notes from the readings, and retype the class notes *connecting them with*

¹ For regular mail : must be post-marked three business days before the deadline; for Fedex overnight deliveries: must be post-marked one business day before the deadline, but before the Fedex cutoff time.

concrete examples or concepts found in the readings and additional searched information (maps, etc.).

E-mail communications:

Please submit electronic versions of course assignments at the same time as the hard copy; both copies must be identical. Please label electronic copies as noted above. As a result of an uncontrollable flood of unnecessary e-mails, I have set my Spam program to delete questionable messages. To assure efficient communications, please keep in mind to:

1. Start subject line with DIPL 6405
2. Include a clear and *fully self-explanatory* subject line, including any action requested. Examples of *self-explanatory subject lines* are: "DIPL6405: Special appointment needed to discuss draft due October 30," "DIPL 6405: Cannot make meeting March 15, special appointment requested," etc. Non-explanatory Subject lines such as "DIPL 6405" or "Class" will result in a delayed answer or a lost message – **my Spam program deletes e-mails that do not contain content-related subject lines.**
2. Include an appropriate professional greeting. My Spam program deletes e-mails lacking an appropriate professional greeting. (Appropriate professional greetings are: "Dear Prof. Balmaceda" and "Dear Dr. Balmaceda.")
3. Use your Seton Hall e-mail account. My Spam program deletes unexplained e-mails from unknown (non-Seton Hall) accounts
4. Please label any attachments clearly, using a document title such as DIPL6405PresentationSMITHDAYMONTHYEAR.doc.
5. E-mails will normally be answered in three batches: late Monday evenings, Wednesday evenings, late Friday evenings. If I have more than one e-mail from you waiting in my inbox, please keep in mind that *I will look at the most recent of your e-mails first*; please incorporate into it any relevant information from other e-mails you may have sent during this period. Complex discussions are more efficiently conducted in person or by phone than by e-mail correspondence.

CLASS OUTLINE

Session 1: Wednesday, August 30

INTRODUCTION AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

- **Discussion and selection of individual "clients"**
[You will follow news and events throughout the semester from the perspective of this "client", in addition to your own perspective]

Session 2: Wednesday, September 6

[1] **Russia as an Imperial Power. Marxism and Foreign Policy**
Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, chapter 2

Michael B. Share, "The Great Game Revisited: Three Empires Collide in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang)," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 7, 1102–1129 [SHU e-journals] (Read for key concepts, not details)

[2] The October Revolution and the Tensions of Finding a Foreign Policy

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, chapter 3, pp. 36-55 (up to "Changing Soviet Policy, 1928-1938")

***** MAP & GEOGRAPHY QUIZ *****

For student presentations:

* Walter Laqueur, Black Hundred: the Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia (New York: Harper, 1994), chapters 1-4 in "Part I: Before the Revolution," pp. 3-60. See also Introduction and Conclusion [Instructor's copy]

Session 3: Wednesday, September 13

[3] The Beginnings of Stalin's Foreign Policies

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 3, pp. 55-58 (up to "Nazi-Soviet Cooperation, 1939-1941")

For student presentations:

* George E. Kennan, "Brest-Litovsk" and/or "Unofficial Allied Agents," in Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1961). [SHU library **DK63.3 .K38 1961** and/or Blackboard e-reserves]

* Hiroaki Kuromiya, "Stalin's Great Terror and the Asian Nexus," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 66, No. 5, 775-793 (2014) [SHU e-journals]

[4] The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and WWII

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, chapter 3 (pp. 58-66)

For student presentations:

* Tucker, "Stalin, Bukharin, and History as a Conspiracy," in The Soviet Political Mind, pp. 49-86 [SHU library **DK274 .T8 1972** or instructor's copy].

Session 4: Wednesday, September 20

[5] The Origins of the Cold War

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, chapter 3 (pp. 66-69) and 4 (72-76)

[6] Building an Empire in East Europe

Gati, chapter 1 [SHU reserves **DJK45.S65G37 1990**]

For Student Presentations:

* Introduction and two chapters from Vasselin Dimitrov, Stalin's Cold War: Soviet Foreign Policy, Democracy and Communism in Bulgaria, 1941- 48 (2008) [Inter-

Library Loan], and Crampton, Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century, chapter 15 (“East European Stalinism”), pp. 255-274 **[Inter-library loan]** (both materials)

* Philip Ther and Ana Siljak (eds.), Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948 (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), ch. 1 and chapter 3 **[Inter-library loan]**

* Selected chapters from A. Johnson, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond (2010) (ISBN-10 0804773564) **[Inter-library loan]**

* selected chapters (dealing with the WWII period or immediately afterwards) from Patricia Grimsted, Throphies of War and Empire (Cambridge, Mass., HURI, 2001)[on art as a form of war ‘reparations’ after WWII] **[Inter-Library Loan]**

[7] “Finlandization”

Materials TBA

For student presentation:

Presentation on Roy Allison, Finland’s Relations with the Soviet Union, 1944-1984 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985) (preferred) **[SHU library main collection: DL1048.S65 A44 1985]** (may also look at: Max Jakobson, Finland in the New Europe (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998) (esp. ch. 3), or Jussi M. Hanhimäki, Containing Coexistence: America, Russia, and the Finnish Solution **[ILL]**

[8] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy

Crises in the Building of a New Relationship with Eastern Europe: the Hungarian Revolution and the Soviet Invasion

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 4, pp. 76-79 (including list on p. 79)
Gati, ch. 2 (pp. 35-43)

For student presentations:

* TBA presentation on Western Policy and the role of Radio Free Europe in the Hungarian Revolution

Session 5: Wednesday, September 27

[9] De-Stalinization and Foreign Policy, III

The Role of Foreign Policy in Khrushchev’s Reform Program

Reread Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 76-84)

For student presentations:

* Selected chapters from Carl A. Linden, Krushchev and the Soviet Leadership, 1957-1966 dealing with the link between domestic reforms and foreign policy. **[SHU library DK275.K5 L5]**

THE THIRD WORLD, REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND THE 'BREZHNEV DOCTRINE'

[10] The Soviet Union and the Cuban Revolution

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 84-89)

Balmaceda, "The Cuban Revolution and Its Impact," ch. 4 of Soviet Latin American Studies from the Cuban Revolution to 'New Thinking' [instructor's copy to be placed in Blackboard/reserve]

Roger Kanet, "Four Decades of Soviet Economic Involvement In The Developing World" (Paper, 2010) [Blackboard]

For Student presentations

* TBA presentation on Cuban-Soviet relations; use Richard Gott, Cuba: A New History (Yale U. Press, 2004) [SHU F1776 .G68 2004], chapter on "Inside the Soviet camp, 1968-1985;" see also Alvin S. Rubinstein, "Backing Liberation Movements," in Moscow's Third World Strategy (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1990) [SHU D888.S65R83 1988]

* TBA presentation on Graham T. Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis (1999) [ILL]

[11] National Liberation Movements and the Sino-Soviet Split

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 87-89)

For student presentations:

* Ismail Kadare, The Concert (novel) [on the impact of the Sino-Soviet split on Albania] [Inter-Library Loan or amazon.com or Instructor's copy] (use additional materials for context; presentation should not be a summary of the novel but also present the context of Albanian-Soviet-Chinese relations and how the novel provides additional insights on these as exemplary of Eastern European (and Third World) states affected by Sino-Soviet competition. *The Concert* is a satisfying 423-page novel – please start reading three weeks before the deadline.

Session 6: Wednesday, October 4

[12] The Prague Spring and the Brezhnev Doctrine – while the USSR starts to lay the ground for its role as major energy supplier to the EU

Hyde-Price, chapter 2 ("East Central Europe: a brief history"), pp. 11-44 (read parts relevant to the period 1955-1985) in The International Politics of East Central Europe [Blackboard]

M. Balmaceda, "The Legacy of History: Path Dependencies and Energy Networks," Chapter 2 of The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure (University of Toronto Press, 2013) [SHU library HD9502.E832 B34 2013]

For student presentations:

* Selected chapters from Per Högselius, Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence (2013) (especially Introduction, ch. 3 (on Austria) and ch. 7 (on Germany's Ostpolitik) and Conclusion [SHU library hard copy or e-book]

* TBA on the international implications of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia

THE IMPETUS FOR A CHANGE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

[13] Detente, International Competitiveness and Foreign Policy: Impetus for Change Before Perestroika

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 89-100)

[14] The Soviet Union and Regional Conflicts Under the Old Regime: Afghanistan and Central America

Nogee and Donaldson, ch. 4 (pp. 100-103) and ch. 8 (pp. 333-334) (Focus especially on sections on Soviet-period historical background to relations with Afghanistan and Nicaragua).

For student presentations:

* 3 or more chapters (selected in consultation with the Instructor) from Galia Golan, Soviet Policies in the Middle East from World War Two to Gorbachev (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1990), including ch. 10 on "Soviet attitudes to Islam" [ILL]

* 2 or more chapters (selected in consultation with the Instructor) from Robert O. Freedman, Moscow and the Middle East (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1991), including chapter 1 on "Soviet policy toward the Middle East from World War II until the invasion of Afghanistan" [SHU library reserves DS63.2.S65 F72 1991]

* [for students fluent in Spanish] Carlos Echague, El Socialimperialismo Ruso en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Agora, 1984), chapters I, V and VI [Instructor's copy or ILL]; do additional research on context.

Session 7: Wednesday, October 11

[15] The Beginnings of 'New Thinking'

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 100-111)
Gati, ch. 3 (pp. 65-103)

[16] The Role of Foreign Policy and 'New Thinking' in Gorbachev's Reform Plans

Reread Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 100-111)

[17] Letting Eastern Europe Go

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 101-108), ch. 7 (pp. 255-261 and 249-254)
Mark Kramer, "The Demise of the Soviet Bloc," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63 (9), 2011, pp. 1535-1590 [SHU e-journals]

[18] 'New Thinking,' World Communism, and the Third World
Reread Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 4 (pp. 76-89).

For student presentations:

* TBA presentation on Third World Communist reactions to Perestroika

[19] The Dissolution of the USSR. The Emergence of the CIS as an International System and Russia's search for a new role in this system
Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 6 (pp. 158-169)

For student presentations:

* Igor Zavelev, Russia and Its New Diasporas (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2001), focusing on the foreign policy components of the Russian diaspora issue [ILL]

* Brumberg, "The Road to Minsk," The New York Review of Books 30 January 1992 (available at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1992/01/30/the-road-to-minsk/>)

[20] The Emergence of Central Asia and the Caucasus as Factors in International Relations; Central Asia: domestic factors informing foreign relations

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 6 (pp. 204-217 on CA, 191-204 on Caucasus)
Theresa Sabonis-Helf, "The Rise of the Post-Soviet Petro-States: Energy Exports and Domestic Governance in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan," in Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf (eds.), In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, 2004), pp. 159-186. Pdf available at: <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/Portals/68/Documents/Books/CTBSP-Exports/Tracks-of-Tamerlane.pdf?ver=2017-06-16-124058-293>

For student presentations:

* David Lewis, The Temptations of Tyranny in Central Asia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) [ILL]

* Vitaly Naumkin, Radical Islam and Central Asia (Rowman and Littlefield, 2005) [ILL]

*TBA on Moslem fundamentalism and international relations in Central Asia

* Yelena N. Zabortseva, "Rethinking the Economic Relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 66, No. 2, 311-327 (2014) [SHU e-journals]

[20] Central Asia: diplomacy and foreign relations (Cont.)

Class readings:

Lerna K. Yanik, "The Politics of educational exchange: Turkish education in Central Asia," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 2 (March 2004), pp. 293-307 [SHU Library e-journals]

Lee, "Toward a New International Regime for the Caspian Sea," Problems of Post-Communism (2005) [SHU e-journals]

On the Caucasus:

Richard Sakwa "The Clash of Regionalisms and Caucasian Conflicts," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 63, Iss. 3, 2011 [SHU e-journals]

For student presentations:

- * Introduction and two additional chapters from Adam N. Stulberg, Well-Oiled Diplomacy: Strategic Manipulation and Russia's Energy Statecraft in Eurasia (Albany: State University of New York, 2007) [Inter-Library Loan]
- * TBA on relations between one or more former Soviet Central Asian states and China
- * TBA on the drug trade and international relations in Central Asia
- * Wu and Chen, "The Prospects for Regional Economic Integration Between China and the Five Central Asian States," in Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 7 (November 2004), pp. 1059-1080 [SHU e-journals]
- * For students fluent in Russian: Aleksei Malashenko, Центральная Азия: на что рассчитывает Россия? (Central Asia: (Moscow: Tsentr Kernegi, 2012). Focus on ch. 2 (means of Russian influence) or ch. 3 (Islam and migration). (Pdf available at carnegieendowment.org/files/CentralAsia_book_20121.pdf)

Session 8: Wednesday, October 18

*** MID-TERM EXAMINATION COVERING SESSIONS 1-7 ***

*** Graded examinations will be returned on November 1 ***

Make up session/news presentation (second part of class) as needed

Session 9: Wednesday, October 25

Student-led in-class exercise

(please e-mail summary (see instructions) to Instructor by 10/26)

[No news presentation]

Session 10 Wednesday, November 1

The Caucasus: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan

Syuzanna Vasilyan, "Swinging on a Pendulum" *Problems of Post-Communism*, Jan-Feb2017, Vol. 64 Issue 1, p32-46. [On Armenia, the EU, and Russia] [SHU e-journals]

For student presentations:

- * Laure Delcour, "Between the Eastern Partnership and Eurasian Integration Explaining Post-Soviet Countries' Engagement in (Competing) Region-Building Projects," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 316–327 (2015) [SHU e-journals]
- * TBA on Georgia's Foreign Policy since the "Rose Revolution"

* For Russian-reading students: TBA on Georgian-Russian energy relations and the 2008 conflict, using (among other sources) <http://www.forbes.ru/forbes/issue/2011-12/76399-energiya-bez-voiny>

* TBA on Armenian-Russian relations, including discussion of economic and military ties (including military bases) and public opinion (including on the Gyumri massacre case in 2015 and its political repercussions).

* TBA presentation on Azerbaijan and the Nabucco gas pipeline project (through at least 2014 and aftermath)

Session 11: Wednesday, November 8

[20a] The South Caucasus (cont)

[21] The North Caucasus, Chechnia and Foreign Affairs

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 7 (pp. 239-245)

On the North Caucasus issue and foreign influences:

Domitilla Sagramoso, "The Radicalization of Islamic Salafi *Jamaats* in the North Caucasus: Moving Closer to the Global *Jihadist* Movement?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(3), 561-595 [SHU e-journals]

For student presentations:

* TBA on the role of energy in Azerbaijan's foreign policies [NB: watch out for possible overlap with a presentation on Stulberg, [Well-Oiled Diplomacy](#) above]

* TBA on a topic related to the international implications of the Chechen war (on relations with Georgia, or on relations with the West)

Session 12: Wednesday, November 15

[22] The Western Post-Soviet States: Ukraine

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 6 (pp. 172-181)

Margarita M. Balmaceda, chapter 4 in Ibid, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2013) [SHU HD9502.E832 B34 2013]

Oles M. Smolasky, "Ukraine and Russia: an Evolving Marriage of Inconvenience," manuscript 2004, *Orbis*, Vol. 48, Issue 1, Winter 2004, pp 117-134, available in Internet

Tor Bukvoll, "Off the Cuff Politics: Explaining Russia's Lack of a Ukraine Strategy," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 53 No. 8 (December 2001), pp. 1141-1157 [SHU e-journals]

Alexander Bogomolov and Oleksandr Lytvynenko, *A Ghost in the Mirror: Russian Soft Power in Ukraine* (Chatham House Briefing Paper, 2012), pdf available at http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Russia%20and%20Eurasia/0112bp_bogomolov_lytvynenko.pdf.

For student presentations:

* Sherman Garnett, [The Keystone in the Arch](#), chapters TBA [ILL]

* Alexander Duleba, "The Ukrainian-Slovak-Russian Security Triangle," in M. Balmaceda (ed.), On the Edge: the Ukrainian-Central European-Russian Security Triangle (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000) [SHU Library]

* For students fluent in Russian: Игорь Яковенко. Украина и Россия: сюжеты соотнесенности, (Igor Yakovenko: Ukraine and Russia: stories of a relationship) Vestnik Evrope, available at <http://magazines.russ.ru/vestnik/2005/16/> (and additional materials)

* For students fluent in Ukrainian and *very familiar with Ukrainian history and literature*: Yuri Andrukhovych's novel Rekreatsii (1990, first published in Suchasnist' (Kyiv), 1992 No. 1.) Рекреації Also available in English translation as Recreations (Toronto: CIUS Press, 1998) or selected essays from Дезорієнтація На Місцевості, with an emphasis on the cultural aspects of Ukraine's foreign policy orientation(s). (See <http://Vitaly.Rivne.Com/Andrukhovych>) [Or ILL]

* Kathy Roussele, "The Church In The Service Of The Fatherland," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 67, No. 1, 49–67 (2015) [SHU e-journals] [discuss with an emphasis on "soft power" available to the Russian regime in the post-Soviet area]

[22] Belarus and Moldova

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 6 (pp. 181-186) (on Belarus) and 186-191 (on Moldova)

Ruth Deyermond, "The state of the union: military success, economic and political failure in the Russia-Belarus union," Europe-Asia Studies Vol. 56 No. 8 (December 2004), pp. 1191-2005 [SHU e-journals]

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Belarus: Turning Dependency into Power?," chapter 5 in Ibid, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (University of Toronto Press, 2013) [SHU HD9502.E832 B34 2013]

Rilka Dragneva and Kataryna Wolczuk, *Russia, the Eurasian Customs Union and the EU: Cooperation, Stagnation or Rivalry?* (Chatham House, August 2012, available at <http://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/185165>)

Steven Woehrel, "Moldova: Background and US Policy," (2014) (10 pages). PDF available at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21981.pdf> or http://www.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/crsreports/crsdocuments/RS21981_06052013.pdf

Optional: Ryhor Nizhnikau, "Promoting Reforms in Moldova," *Problems of Post-Communism*. Mar-Apr2017, Vol. 64 Issue 2, p.106-120

For student presentations:

On Belarus

* Grigory Ioffe Understanding Belarus and How Western Foreign Policy Misses the Mark (2008) or Reassessing Lukashenko (2014) [SHU Library or Inter-Library Loan]

* M. Balmaceda, *Living the High Life in Minsk: Russian Energy Rents, Domestic Populism and Belarus' Impending Crisis* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2014) (Introduction, Conclusion and two additional chapters (not including ch. 2) [e-book from SHU library]

* Simon Araloff (AIA European Section), „Clandestine Routes for Russian Weapons,“ part of a series on „Europe's Black Hole,“ Axis Information and Analysis, available at <http://www.axisglobe.com/article.asp?article=280> , plus update based on additional materials (on the Russian-Belarusian link in weapons exports to unstable areas)

Session 13: Wednesday, November 29

****** TAKE-HOME EXAMS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS ******

[23] Relations with the EU: Energy, Investment, “Shared neighborhood,” Backlash

Julian Pänke, “The Fallout of the EU's Normative Imperialism in the Eastern Neighborhood,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 350–363 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

Miroslav Mares & Martin Larys, “The Transnational Relations of the Contemporary Russian Extreme Right,” *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 7, 1056–1078 (2015)

Other materials TBA

[23 b] Interest Groups in Russian Foreign Policies: The Case of the Energy Complex

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 5 (144-154, especially pp. 149-151)

Ray Leonard. Field Notes: “Khodorkovsky, Yukos, and Putin The Achievement of Khodorkovsky, Why It Was Destroyed, and the Consequences,” *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 121–126 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

Morse and Richard, “The Battle for Energy Dominance” *Foreign Affairs* 2002 [SHU e-journals]

[25] Energy and Foreign Policies in Central-East Europe and the EU

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 7 (pp. 261-271)

Materials on energy from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 113 (May 2012) and 110 (July 2011), and 2014, available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

[26] Transnistria and other Protracted Conflicts and De Facto States

Kolsto, P. and H. Blackkistrud, 2008. “Living with non-recognition: State and Nation-building in south Caucasian Quasi-States.” *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (3), 483–509 [SHU e-journals]

For contrast: on Chechnia (as a possible 'state within a state'): John Russel, "Kadyrov's Chechnia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 63(3) (2011), pp. 509-528 [SHU e-journals]

For North Caucasus context on Chechnia: Edward C. Holland, "Economic Development and Subsidies in the North Caucasus," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 50–61 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

For Student Presentations

* Kuechler, Umland, and Hill, *The Role of the European Union in Moldova's Transnistria Conflict* (Ibidem, 2007) [Inter-Library Loan]

* Devyatkov, Andrey, "Russian Policy Towards Transnistria". *Problems of Post-Communism*. May/Jun2012, Vol. 59 Issue 3, p53-62. and Chamberlain-Creangă, Rebecca; Allin, Lyndon K., "Acquiring Assets, Debts and Citizens," *Demokratizatsiya*. Fall 2010, Vol. 18 Issue 4, pp. 329-356 [Both in SHU library electronic resources]

[27] The Question of NATO Expansion to Central-East Europe and the Baltics; Energy and Politics in the Baltics

Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 6 (pp. 217-224) and ch. 7 (pp. 249-254)

Margarita M. Balmaceda, "Corruption, Intermediary Companies, and Energy Security: Lessons of Lithuania for the Broader Central-East European Region," *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol. 55 No. 4, July/August 2008, pp. 16-28 and additional material for update [SHU e-journals]

[28b] The Russian Role in Central and East Europe and the Balkans

Reread Donaldson, Nogee and Nadkarni, ch. 7 (pp. 255-261 and 249-254) (on CEE) and ch. 7, pp. 245-249 and 271-274 (on the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans)

For Student Presentations:

*TBA presentation comparing two energy corruption cases in Poland: 2004's "Orlen-Gate" (2004) and 2013-2014's coal corruption case and their Foreign Policy Implications

* TBA on Bulgaria and the South Stream gas pipeline project (including related domestic events in 2014-2015)

* Tomas Maltby, "Between Amity, Enmity and Europeanisation: EU Energy Security Policy and the Example of Bulgaria's Russian Energy Dependence," *Europe-Asia Studies* Vol. 67, No. 5, 809–830 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

* Ina Merdjanova, *Rediscovering the Umma: Muslims in the Balkans between Nationalism and Transnationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013) [Chapters 1, 2, and 4]; use additional materials TBA to provide foreign policy context. [SHU Library BP65.B28 M47 2013]

[29] Central and Eastern Europe: Developing New Foreign Policies after the Fall of the Soviet Empire

(Materials TBA, as needed)

For student presentations:

* TBA on Germany's role in Central-East Europe, 1995-2015 [make sure to include policies on NATO expansion and Ukrainian crisis]

Session 14: Wednesday, December 6

[27] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin: Russia and Non-Western States

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 8 (pp. 286-305 and 305-333) (+ skim rest of chapter 8 for context)

Natasha Kuhr, "The Russian Far East in Russia's Asia Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies* 64(3), May 2012, pp. 471-493 [SHU e-journals]

Materials on Russia and the Middle East crisis from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 98 (2011), available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

Materials on Russia and Arctic from RAD (Russian analytical digest, No. 96 (2011), available at <http://www.res.ethz.ch/analysis/rad/>

Geir Flikke, "Sino-Russian Relations Status Exchange or Imbalanced Relationship?," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 63: 159-170 (2016) [SHU e-journals]

Stephen Blank and Younkyoo Kim, "Russia and Latin America The New Frontier for Geopolitics, Arms Sales and Energy," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 159-173 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

For student presentations:

* Alicja Curanovi, chapter on relations with Moslem states in The Religious Factor in Russia's Foreign Policy (Routledge Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe Series) (Routledge, 2012) chs. 1 and 3 (as background) plus a focus on ch. 9 [Inter-Library Loan; limited preview in google books]

* TBA on an international topic (such as the US-Russian culture clash as evidenced in the energy industry), based on Thane Gustafson, Wheel of Fortune (2013) [SHU e-book]

* Kimberly Marten, "Informal Political Networks and Putin's Foreign Policy The Examples of Iran and Syria," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 71-87 (2015)

* "The Revisionist Alternative: Energy and the Sino-Russian Axis," pp. 113-130 in Philip Andrews-Speed, Roland Dannreuther, China, Oil and Global Politics (Routledge, 2011) [Inter-Library Loan] plus additional materials for update

* TBA on Russian-Syrian relations

* TBA on Russian-Palestinian-Israeli relations (must include a small reference to (and contextualization of Russian-Israeli visa regulations)

* TBA on Russian-Chinese relations, including, *among other materials*, Steven Kotkin, "A Moscow-Beijing Axis?," Foreign Policy September 2009 [SHU e-journals]

* Bobo Lo, *Axis of Convenience: Moscow, Beijing, and the New Geopolitics* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009, ISBN-10 0815753403) [ILL]

* TBA on Russian-Turkish conflict and reasons for reapprochment in 2016

[28] Russian Foreign Policy Under Putin and Medvedev: Russia and the West before and after Crimes: Reset, Sanctions, Counter-Sanctions

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 7 (pp. 218-229 and 235-241)

TBA materials (from Current History, latest issue on Russia and Eurasia and/or *Russian Analytical Digest*)

For student presentations:

*TBA on Russian responses to the late 2014-early 2015 thaw in US-Cuban relations

*TBA on Saudi Arabia, oil price manipulations and Russian responses late 2014-2015

* TBA on Russia's role in international negotiations on Iran's nuclear power

[29] Russian-US Relations after Russia's Annexation of Crimea

Ray Finch, "The Kremlin's Economic Checkmate Maneuver," *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 62: 187-191 (2015) [SHU e-journals]

(Other materials TBA as needed)

For Student Presentations:

* Andrei Soldatov, *The Red Web: the struggle between Russia's digital dictators and the new online revolutionaries* (NY: Public Affairs, 2015) esp ch 10, "The Snowden Affair" (pp. 195-222). [ILL (for entire book) or pdf (of chapter 10 only) in Blackboard]

[30] Conclusion: the Future of International Relations in Eurasia

Donaldson, Noguee and Nadkarni, ch. 9 (pp. 387-394, 398-419; skim rest of chapter for context)

Andrei Tsygankov, "Assessing Cultural and Regime-Based Explanations of Russia's Foreign Policy," *Europe-Asia Studies* 2012 [SHU e-journals]

****** TAKE-HOME EXAMS DUE Wednesday, December 13, 9:45 pm via hard copy and e-mail to Margarita.Balmaceda@shu.edu******

Final grades submitted December 21, 2017